

16 tourist promotion agencies in the United States, we have one in Canada. I find this especially frustrating because this country abounds in spectacular scenery, fascinating events, interesting places, and friendly people. We have a proud heritage and history that offers excitement and interest to the American and international traveler alike. With our Bicentennial around the corner, I think it is important for us to make the most of an opportunity to familiarize as many people as possible with the outstanding qualities which comprise the United States. Understanding our unique past will provide strength for the future.

During the hearings on the bill, I was dismayed with the administration's lackadaisical attitude toward tourism. It is high time the administration wake up to the needs and impact of the tourism industry.

Compared to other countries, the United States is almost shameful in its tourism expenditures. While we were spending \$9.1 million in 1973, Ireland spent \$24.7 million, Canada \$21.6 million, Israel \$18.3 million, Turkey \$14 million, Greece \$12.7 million, France \$11 million, Belgium \$10.9 million, and I could go on and on.

H.R. 5357 takes a significant first step in the direction of recognizing the critical need for total Government commitment to this vital American industry, tourism.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. ELCY MCGOVERN

#### HON. WILLIAM M. KETCHUM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 14, 1975

Mr. KETCHUM. Mr. Speaker, I am honored today to call to the attention of the Congress the accomplishments of one of Kern County, Calif.'s most active and dedicated residents, Dr. Elcy McGovern of Bakersfield. Dr. McGovern has served her community and Nation in countless ways with dedication and selflessness. On Saturday, May 24, 1975, she will be honored by Kern County Economic Opportunity Corporation. I am proud to be able to participate in this way.

Dr. McGovern has made a notable contribution to the educational program in the county of Kern, and has shown a great sensitivity to the needs of people. Her retirement from the education field did not curtail her interest. For the past 7 years, she has contributed her time, energy, and knowledge in her service to the Kern County Economic Opportunity Corporation.

Her complete dedication and support to the agency has been demonstrated in her active membership on the executive board, as an appointee of the superintendent of schools. She has served as a member of the by-laws and procedures committee, evaluation committee, personnel committee, delegate agency committee, executive committee, and as secretary of the board of directors.

Certainly, she is deserving of this recognition. Everyone who has been priv-

ileged to know and work with Dr. McGovern knows well the enormous dimension of her self-sacrificing compassion for others. It is a distinct pleasure to speak on Dr. McGovern's behalf today, and I am sure that my colleagues join with me in tribute to this fine person.

#### AMERICA AND THE TERRIBLE LOGIC OF VIETNAM

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 14, 1975

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, many in the United States speak of the end of the war in Vietnam as if it represented something other than victory for Communist aggression and something other than defeat for both the United States and the cause of freedom, independence, and self-determination in the world.

The United States committed more than 500,000 men to battle, and lost more than 50,000, in order to prevent aggression from succeeding. We failed in that attempt. We failed not because of a superior enemy or overpowering odds but, quite to the contrary, because of a failure of will. Because success did not come quickly, we welcomed defeat. This is what the Communists counted upon and events have proven them correct.

While many in the Congress believe that the abandonment of South Vietnam was virtuous, history may tell a far different story. The distinguished deputy editor of the London Telegraph, Peregrine Worsthorne, was in Washington during the time in which Vietnam was abandoned. His reports are instructive.

Mr. Worsthorne notes that:

It was a disturbing experience to be in Washington during this past week . . . Congress . . . has elevated its determination to refuse further aid into an act of almost heroic virtue, treating President Ford's impassioned pleas with derisive contempt, as if it was upholding honor while he was seeking to impugn them.

When Secretary of State Kissinger appeared before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Mr. Worsthorne reported:

He was treated like a criminal in the dock, with the Senators seeming to take pride in proclaiming their faith in American impotence, in the pointlessness of further intervention, as if their recognition of the inevitability of defeat was a form of high courage which would earn them an honoured place in history.

Mr. Worsthorne declared that:

I watched them filing out, their heads held high, posturing proudly before the television cameras, for all the world as if sealing the fate of South Vietnam was their finest hour, the moment when they walked with destiny.

I wish to share with my colleagues the report of this perceptive British observer as it appeared in the London Daily Telegraph and insert into the Record at this time the article, "America and The Terrible Logic of Vietnam," by Peregrine Worsthorne:

#### AMERICA AND THE TERRIBLE LOGIC OF VIETNAM

(By Peregrine Worsthorne)

It was a disturbing experience to be in Washington during this past week. At one level, in rejecting utterly the Administration's case for last-ditch aid to give the South Vietnamese a final chance, the Congress and the media have reason on their side. Why pour further American money and equipment down the drain? After all, Churchill refused to send those RAF squadrons to succour France in 1940. But he did so with an anguished heart, knowing that Britain's very life depended on saying "no."

This, however, has not all been the mood of Congress. It has elevated its determination to refuse further aid into an act of almost heroic virtue, treating President Ford's impassioned pleas with derisive contempt, as if it was upholding American pride and honour while he was seeking to impugn them.

When the Secretary of State went before the Senate Appropriation Committee to argue the President's case, he was treated like a criminal in the dock, with the Senators seeming to take pride in proclaiming their faith in American impotence, in the pointlessness of further intervention, as if their recognition of the inevitability of defeat was a form of high courage which would earn them an honoured place in history.

I watched them filing out, their heads held high, posturing proudly before the television cameras, for all the world as if sealing the fate of South Vietnam was their finest hour, the moment when they walked with destiny.

#### LITTLE SENSE OF SHAME

What is extraordinary and shocking about the manner in which the United States has observed the collapse of its client state is its undertones of self-congratulations, not so much a trauma, more a cause for satisfaction. Only the President and the Secretary of State insist on using the language of shame, and they are mocked for it; more than mocked; castigated and reviled; accused almost of an un-American activity.

It could be that this will be only a passing phase, and that as the reality of the Communist take-over in Saigon begins to impinge there will be a recovery of concern about the consequences of the American washing of hands; washing of hands ceasing to be respectable once it is seen to be taking place in a bloodbath. But I doubt it. For it is difficult to exaggerate the extent to which there is now a vested interest among all those who observe foreign affairs to see no evil; to make the best of a bad job.

So much moral capital has been invested in the effort to get America out of Vietnam, so many newspaper editorials, political speeches, and pulpit sermons, such a wealth of passion, that it seems almost impossible for the American people to recognise that this withdrawal crusade—for such it has become—may also lead to disaster, just as the crusade to get America in led to disaster. Indeed the way in which America is trying to end its involvement in Vietnam is strangely similar to the way in which it all began.

The Washington establishment then, those Kennedy New Frontiersmen, could not bear to see the ugly possibilities inherent in the original involvement, so utterly convinced were they of its moral necessity. There is exactly the same belief in the possibility of limited consequences, about the decision to disengage.

What one noticed in Washington last week was the same kind of moralising fantasies that caused America to mislead herself about Vietnam in the first place, repeating themselves like some dreadful echo from the past.

"Because America's motives are so right in getting out," the argument runs, "no evil

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can flow from it. The American retreat from empire will be quite different from all other retreats from empire, just as the American advance into empire had been assumed to be going to be quite different from all other advances into empire. Surely the world will understand. America is abandoning her allies for the best of motives; dishonouring her obligations out of high-minded altruism. When we do these things, it is not like other nations doing them, because we are Americans, God's elect."

As American intervention began, so is it ending—in self-deception, self-righteousness and Utopian dreams, with one form of euphoria replacing another, one lot of puerile assumptions about the innocence of America replacing another lot about the innocence of American entry.

It seems to me terribly important that this state of affairs should be properly understood in Western Europe. The truth is that America is getting out of Vietnam in the same dangerous way as she got in; that is to say, in a cloud of unknowing, the only difference being that whereas the mistake in the past sprang from a naive innocence about the dangers of one form of rhetoric—the rhetoric of power—the mistake today springs from naive innocence about another form of rhetoric: the rhetoric of impotence.

But the appalling lesson that they learnt about the dangers inherent in the use of power has not taught them to be cautious, as it should, about the inherent dangers of the non-use of power. The price and cost, and potential tragedy of the destruction of American power are today no more understood than a few years ago were the price and cost, and potential tragedy of its creation.

#### MCCARTHY-LIKE ATMOSPHERE

Take the extraordinary case of the backlash against the CIA. Doubtless its intelligence-gathering and covert operations had got out of control. But so now has the reaction against them.

It has meant nothing less than the demoralisation of a large part of the American foreign policy establishment, most of those work at some point has involved them in CIA work, either directly or tangentially. So they wake up each morning waiting to read some revelation in the newspapers which will involve them in ruinous "scandal."

With so many members of Congress bent on cleansing the Augean Stables, how could it be otherwise? The atmosphere is not wholly unlike that of the McCarthy years, with CIA links—now held to be tantamount to Fascist links—replacing Communist links as the smear.

On visits to Washington over the years I have been staying at the Metropolitan Club, which is the equivalent of White's, the Travellers and the Athenaeum rolled into one. It is there, at lunchtime, that the establishment meet. During the Kennedy years it was, for a British visitor, a wonderfully touching and nostalgic experience to listen to the American pro-consuls discussing the business of empire like characters out of Kipling. The place was alive with the small-talk of great affairs. But no longer.

That necessary confidence that binds a governing class together in mutual trust has melted away under the heat of Congressional inquiry and media attack. Nobody trusts anybody.

The point that needs to be understood seems to me this: 15 years ago the relationship between the White House and Congress, between the media and both, the vocabulary of public discussion in the Press and television, the moral mood, all these might have led me to expect, and guard against, the excesses of imperial adventure.

Today there is cause to expect, and guard against, the excesses of post-imperial guilt. Whereas the mood in Washington then was pregnant with one form of imprudence, so today is it pregnant with another.

Both the President and the Secretary of State have warned about this, but the latter is assumed to be lamenting only his own predicament, and the former echoing only that lamentation like a puppet. (Quite wrong, incidentally, Ford is very much his own man, and very much more impressive than is yet apparent).

#### EFFECT ON PEKING

What, then, is it that they fear? Let me be specific. It is that:

Communist China will lose interest in rapprochement with the United States, the whole value of which, from Peking's point of view, rested on assumptions about the determination of the United States to resist the Soviet Union. Any sign of a diminution of that determination—and how can acceptance of defeat in Vietnam not be taken as such a sign?—will, therefore, tend to undermine the delicate relationship between the United States and China.

This in turn will prompt China to look for a new source of strength against the Soviet Union, to replace the flattering American giant: obviously Japan, which must also be reconsidering its total military reliance on the United States. The logic of Vietnam, in short, is to compel both China and Japan to come together, a diplomatic and military revolution of incalculably dangerous significance.

The North Koreans will use this moment of American disarray to launch a new attack on South Korea, and China will no longer have the incentive to use its influence to prevent such a move.

There are two American defence treaty commitments. Is it conceivable in the present American mood that Congress would allow this to be honoured?

Communist parties in Western Europe, sensing American lack of continuing sensitivity to the spread of Communist influence will grow less cautious, and be encouraged to do so by the Soviet Union. Because the United States has adopted a low profile in face of a Communist take-over in one Nato ally, Portugal, this will encourage the French and Italian parties to expect the same passive reaction to similar political development there, with results that would destroy the cohesion of Nato.

West European Conservative and Social Democratic forces, sensing a turning of the tide in world affairs, will begin to grow resigned and fatalistic.

And most important of all, the United States itself, observing these developments, about which in the present condition of fractured political leadership it will be able to do nothing, will grow increasingly isolationist, concluding that its only sensible course is to concentrate exclusively on protecting its own interests.

A by-product of this would be fierce economic nationalism since, in the absence of satisfying and promising outlets for the use of American power in the diplomatic and security areas, the full thrust of American pride and purpose would be degraded into areas of economic domination, where American power can still get results.

#### STOPPING THE ROT

Such are some of the fears of the American Administration, quite openly expressed. Are they reasonable or paranoid? In my view they are reasonable. But if they are not, it is almost more alarming, since an American political and social climate that can induce paranoia among its leaders is itself a matter of the gravest possible concern.

Perhaps Congressional obstruction, and media criticism and a general popular mood of deep disillusion with American foreign policy have driven the Administration mad. But that is the most disturbing conclusion of all, since, if this Administration does not renew American faith in the defence of freedom, there is none other on the political

horizon more likely to do better—or even half as well.

It would be nice to end on a note of cheer. "Come on," I said to an old Washington friend whose judgment over the years I have come to respect, "tell me something comforting." He thought for a long while, brow furrowed by the strain, and I began to fear the worst. Then, to my infinite relief, his face began to lighten.

"The destruction of Israel," he said, "that's going to set the alarm bells ringing. Nothing else will bring us to our senses and stop the rot."

How dark must be the tunnel of despair if that is the only light of hope at the end of it.

#### RESOLUTION OF JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA CITY COUNCIL

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 14, 1975

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to insert in the Record a resolution of interest to all my colleagues. This resolution, passed by the Jacksonville, Fla. city council on April 8, 1975, strongly urges Congress to focus its attention on the needs of permanent programs administered by local governments. These permanent programs have been neglected and underfunded by Congress due to the emphasis on temporary public service programs. This resolution merits our close attention. It makes sense to me. The text of the resolution follows:

#### RESOLUTION 75-355-104

(A resolution urging the Congress of the United States to alleviate unemployment by increasing funding of presently existing permanent programs rather than by creating temporary public service employment programs; providing an effective date.)

Whereas, the economic condition of this country is deteriorating; and

Whereas, fiscal legislative remedies in the past have taken the form of programs designed to create temporary public service jobs; and

Whereas, there are numerous presently existing meritorious permanent programs administered by local governments which are not adequately funded; and

Whereas, economic stimulus would be just as effective and have a greater utility to society if the Congress of the United States increased funding to presently existing permanent programs administered by local governments in lieu of funding temporary public service employment programs; now, therefore

Be it resolved by the Council of the City of Jacksonville:

Section 1. The Congress of the United States is urged to alleviate deterioration of the economic health of the nation with fiscal legislation that would increase funding of presently existing permanent programs which are in dire need of funds rather than by creation of temporary public service employment programs.

Section 2. The Council Secretary shall provide copies of this resolution to the Honorable Lawton M. Chiles, Jr., the Honorable Richard B. Stone, and the Honorable Charles E. Bennett.

Section 3. This resolution shall become effective upon signature by the Mayor or upon becoming effective without the Mayor's signature.